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of its adopted parents and might live down the stigma of its origin if it proved itself adaptable and able. Once such a person had established himself as a competent adult in the community, it was considered offensive to refer to his origin. It is quite obvious that the lot of a person who has been a slave is not a particularly hard one; but that it is a source of fear to children may well be imagined. Fear of being sold into slavery may be intensified by early childhood experiences of parental desertion. The social attitude toward slavery is undoubtedly colored by experiences in early life. 567 855 [361]

A similar type of kidnapping may be a form of vengeance directed toward parents delinquent in debt payments, so that the child becomes the victim not of his own misdemeanors but of those of his parents. It is a hard lesson in group responsibility for a guiltless child. Such occurrences, however, are undoubtedly rare. My notes contain only one anecdote of this sort, but it is worth repeating for the light it casts on oblique vengeances, the persistence of hostilities, and the value of a child to parents and to strangers. The event must have occurred some twenty years ago. 567 672 695 858

Lakaseni of Dikimpe, acting for Senmani of Karieta, got a moko from some Fungwati people. It was worth only a dollar and a half, but despite persistent dunning by Lakaseni, Senmani refused to pay for it. The Fungwati people, to place pressure on Lakaseni, kidnapped his child. In retaliation Lakaseni tried to steal Senmani's eight-year-old daughter but was stopped by one of Senmani's sons-in-law. Despite the beating he received, Lakaseni returned the same day to Karieta and managed to steal another of Senmani's daughters, a child of three or four years. He took her to Fungwati and so bought his child's release. 567 695 627

The mother of the stolen child heard what had happened and that night tried to break into the house in Fungwati where the girl was being held. The door was securely barred but she managed to break through the house flooring. Once she was in the house, however, a group of men fought her off. Senmani himself went to Fungwati the next day and pled with his creditors, but they were adamant, saying they would release the child only when he repaid his debt with exactly the same kind of moko he had secured from them. This particular type was rare; Senmani could not find one immediately and the Fungwati people refused to give him extra time to search for it. The next day they sold the child to a distant village for a three-dollar moko. As the narrator put it, "Fungwati and Karieta had been at war and they still remembered it. Even though Senmani cried and cried, they sold his child anyhow."

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567 When Senmani heard that his child had actually been sold, he gave
627 her up, saying, "Now we won't get the child back. So we shall consider
685 her a person dead from violence and provide her with a human head
766 as her spouse." He then sent a friend to get a head from Fungwati, and the friend returned with the head of an adult man.

593 This story has some interesting facets. It cannot be said that the par-
567 ents did not care for their child, but it is significant that they were so ready to abandon her. They might have followed her to the village into which she was sold and bought her back for about four dollars. That would be the standard price increase for a second transaction on the progressive sale of a stolen child. Instead, however, they gave up the child and bought a head that must have cost them about sixty dollars, indicating that vengeance and prestige were more important to them than the child itself.

868 The opportunities for children to acquire attitudes of fear are not always so direct and drastic. Many sources of fright are more subtle and covert. For instance, if a child in racing about the uneven and stony paths of the valley stumbles and falls, the adults will shout at him in harsh and frightened fashion for his awkwardness. There is in the community a very marked fear of even this form of accidental violence or injury. Its origin is not accounted for by the natives, and the only explanation that occurs to me is a very legitimate fear of the infection that so often sets in where there are open wounds.

869 Late childhood is undoubtedly the period when individuals acquire
855 their fear of supernatural beings. Children are in full possession of the
775 speculation and gossip concerning supernatural malignancy or poisoning that surrounds many deaths. These supernatural spirits are everywhere, living near springs, trees, ravines, and rocks. It is practically impossible to avoid their habitations; all one may hope is not to offend them. Children who are their victims can be saved only by having their adult kin perform the proper sacrifices, and such sacrifices are never
[753] begrudged by adults. Long-delayed death feasts are sometimes given by men whose children's illnesses have been diagnosed as the work of angered ghosts. There is ample evidence to indicate that parents are thoroughly solicitous for the health of their children, at least within their own cultural patterns. They are less convinced and therefore willing to make an effort where European medication is concerned.

869 Similarly, during this period children must absorb fear of the spirits
775 of the violently dead, a category which includes those who have died from accidents, warfare, dysentery, smallpox, and leprosy. The child has every opportunity to observe the elaborate ceremonial and financial de-

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553 dog." The boys reported this to their father and the wealth contest
578 broke out. Maliseni's Male House I, a man called Malikalieta, came to his support. This time Maliseni was victorious in the reckoning of slaughtered pigs.

578 In 1938 Malefani died and there were whispered rumors that he had
602 been poisoned by Maliseni's brother, because of their protracted hostility. This did not prevent Maliseni from giving burial services as the
[764] representative of the Male House IV and from complaining so effectively about the payment for these services that he raised the level of payment for all the six Male House representatives. The Male House kin, seeing their advantage in this quarrel, supported Maliseni. There was every indication that Malefani's sons were inheriting their father's feud with the Maliseni faction. This did not mean that the two sets of opponents would not join forces against a third person when it was to their mutual advantage. In fact, some seven months later they stood back to back against Malikalieta in a quarrel over payments for their services as house-building partners in the erection of Malikalieta's lineage house.

556 This matter of wealth feuds has been described in some detail for the
602 light it throws on the rare but ever-present possibility of using wealth
154 contests as a check for excessive chicanery and as an expression of personal hostilities; for the light it throws on elaborate kin involvements as well as the completely realistic alignment of loyalties, which are determined more by the particular situation than by any formal and consistent policy. The possibility of a wealth contest is also a reason why neutrals fear hostility between powerful men. Should such a contest break out no one's pigs are safe.

681 In cases of fines through challenge and shame (*kalukvè*) the system is far less dramatic and involves fewer people. It is a procedure that has
[177] been falling into disuse, since the Dutch government has set up a system of litigation by means of which fines can be levied through public debate. Litigation usually results in a more moderate fine and more rapid dispatch of business. However, fines through challenge are still
[154] resorted to where the principals are particularly incensed and feel that only a very ostentatious wealth display can assuage their feelings. There is a case of such a challenge in Mangma's autobiography, the details of which have been deleted from the autobiography and are inserted here.

615 Mangma had been accused of intercourse with a girl with the obvi-
681 ous intention of trying to force him into a marriage. He proved his
627 innocence through a hot millet ordeal and then insisted on further ex-

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punging his shame by challenging his accusers to "kalukek." He did this [695]
by procuring from a friend a three-dollar pig for which he paid the 681
excessive price of a five-dollar moko, after his friend had gone through 627
a ceremonial dunning procedure (*naluel, nobuor;* literally, follow me, call to me). Then he went to the two kinsmen of the girl with a group of supporting relatives who bore ceremonial spears and horns. They stood on the dance place and shouted challenge, demanding that the three-dollar pig be paid for with a six-dollar-and-fifty-cent moko. This was finally paid to Mangma so that ultimately he received one dollar and fifty cents as a fine for the insult leveled at him. This was not pure [602]
profit since he had to pay his allies a series of six graded payments for their support.

Refusal to meet such a challenge and pay the exorbitant price demanded for a pig so presented is a source of shame and an admission of [558]
financial defeat comparable, on a smaller scale, to that of a wealth contest. As in a wealth contest such a procedure does not result in any financial gain to the winner. In fact, the winner is apt to lose in the long run because of his obligations to supporters. Profit, more than [183]
reciprocity or potlatching, is the ideal of Alorese economy. Formerly only the breakdown of the profit system led to either of the other two systems of financial manipulation. This may explain why they were and are so rarely used and why litigation was so rapidly accepted once [177]
it was introduced. During the eighteen months in Atimelang only one case of the old kalukek system occurred. This was the outgrowth of a quarrel between two brothers who had exchanged wives. The younger brother was an unwilling partner in the exchange and gave his new wife to a friend who in turn offered him refuge against his older brother. The two friends lived together for a time but fought over the possession of the woman. There was a litigation in which the friend and the runaway brother were judged equally guilty. Instead of a fine, the chief ordered both men to be tied up for a day. The friend was so incensed at the duplicity and so shamed by the punishment that he began kalukek proceedings against the younger brother, who had meanwhile taken his wife and returned to his own village, where he made peace with his older brother.

WAR

It is quite obvious that there might be occasions where the hard deal- 686
ing and chicanery openly admired in Atimelang finances reach a point 627
that drives certain individuals to physical violence and murder. This in [721]
turn often precipitates war. Once under way, a war can drag on for years in a series of retaliations, which are also given their financial col-

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686 orings. The case of hard dealing in connection with a debt mentioned
627 on page 67, which led to the theft of a child and from there to the taking of a head, is an illustration of such a situation. Refusal to meet obligations may also lead to threats of burning the debtor's house. In about 1927 Padata the Leper set fire to Maliseni's house because Maliseni refused to pay him a moko worth seventeen dollars and fifty cents. The whole village burned to the ground, and in addition to the destruction of property through fire there was wholesale pilfering of chickens, corn, rice, and piglets in the course of the confusion. Perhaps one of the
[674] best indexes of human and property relationships in Atimelang is that such disasters as a fire are occasions for pilfering by the very people who come to assist. In still another case financial hard dealing and insult between brothers precipitated a murder. It is referred to in passing in both Tilapada's and Kolmani's autobiographies. For the light it throws on a number of facets of Atimelang temperament it is worth giving here in detail.

578 Langmai owed a debt to Fanpeni, his young unmarried cousin, and
627 Fanpeni came one evening to dun him. Langmai did not invite him
686 to enter the house and eat. He added insult to injury by referring to Fanpeni's unmarried status and by dilating on the pleasures he himself had in sleeping with his own wife. Fanpeni sulked all night on the verandah below the house. The next morning Langmai and his wife left the house without paying any attention to Fanpeni, who was by then in a murderous mood. The wife's younger sister stayed behind to care for the children. In the course of the morning she went off to fetch water. Fanpeni waylaid her and cut her throat. He then ran off to a village so distant that it was not considered practicable to follow him.

Berkama, an uncle of Fanpeni, feared retribution and left for a near-by village. The dead girl's kin sent word that if he stayed away they would consider it a sign that he approved of his nephew's act. Berkama feared this was a ruse to lure him back to Atimelang in order to murder him, but finally when his wife's powerful cousin offered to take him and his family under personal protection, he consented to return. The matter blew over for the time being.

684 Meanwhile the daughter of Berkama's sister married a man from
578 Manetati whose brother too was married to an Atimelang woman. This
627 other Atimelang woman ran away from her husband, lived with another man in the vicinity, and finally returned to her own village.

One day Berkama's sister, mother of the first girl married in Manetati, went to visit her daughter, accompanied by her nephew, the twelve-year-old son of Berkama. The deserted husband shot the child simply

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The deserted husband shot the child simply because he was from the same village as his adulterous wife and because there was a death for which no payment had been made by the child's family. The boy was carried back to his own village, where he died three or four days later.

The brother of the murderer, who was the child's uncle by marriage, was furious at this attack and killed a woman of his own family. He then took her head to his wife's village of Atimelang, where it was accepted as payment for the dead child and for the girl murdered some years earlier by Fanpeni. Incidentally, the murder of a lineal kin to appease affinal kin is not necessarily traditional courtesy. I suspect, although I could not confirm it, that this last woman was in some way a troublesome person. In a discussion of insanity that occurs on page 157 there is a case in which a maniac was told by kin that they would take his head and sell it.

This anecdote points to another reason why violence is the source of so much fear. In an area where kinship is reckoned bilaterally, so that recognized family affiliations are widespread, and where, in addition, group responsibility exists not only in terms of kinship but also in terms of territorial affiliation, a violent act by some one person may have incalculable repercussions on anyone distantly affiliated with the person committing the act. It is small wonder that Rilpada's autobiography contains the statement, "The older people all lectured us about fighting and said that when we fought we involved them and it was just as though we were waging war on them."

Warfare, when it was in vogue, was rarely on a large scale or of a very bloody nature. It was characterized more by treachery than by boldness. Bravery was reckoned in terms of success rather than risk. There is no need at this point to give a detailed description of warfare in Alor, but a brief résumé of the last series of head-hunting raids before Dutch pacification will throw some light on the role it played in the lives of Atimelangers. The series of retaliations listed below covered a period of about thirty years.

1. Manisenlaka of Kewai killed Motlaka of Lawatika. No one seemed to remember the reasons for this original murder.

2. Lonmani, a young girl of Lawatika, was kidnapped by Padakafeli of Atimelang and sold to a man in Kewai, where she was killed in revenge for death no. 1. Padakafeli was motivated by the profit involved in selling a head.

3. Lanpada of Kafakberka was killed by Kafolama of Dikimpe at the instigation of Padamai of Lawatika. Padamai was the father of victim no. 2. Kafolama was Padamai's friend and was paid for getting Lan-

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826 765 [371] This he was able to give some five months later with assistance from the tumukun, whose satellite he was.

624 [602] Another device to force participation in a feast is used only by kin. This constitutes a kind of capital levy. It consists of openly shooting a man's pig in its pen. Since pork is never eaten casually, this forces the pig owner into at least a minor feast. For a case of this sort, the death of Fantan's child as told in his autobiography (page 387) serves as an illustration. The same device is used to force a reluctant kinsman into contributing the dead pig to the shooter's feast. That is, a promise to pay is substituted for the pig. This is the process underlying the slaughtering of animals in the wealth contest described previously, and it brings out the advantages of having a large group of kinsmen. Even the accidental death of a pig is often the incentive for a feast or sacrifice. The same holds true if a man shoots a pig that is rooting up his garden after he has warned its owner of the damage it is doing.

There are then a number of ways of forcing a man into feast activities and the meeting of ceremonial obligations if he is reluctant to participate in the prestige game. In the case of individual debts the final recourse, when debtors are delinquent, is forceful seizure or threats of the

826 827 [602] 371 sort already mentioned. To carry such a procedure through successfully it is necessary to have a sufficient number of supporting kin or satellites who will provide the intimidating show of force required. There were many cases of this sort during my eighteen months there. As a rule pigs are the property seized, but even mokos and gongs are subject to seizure, although this means entering and searching another man's house. There is, however, a measure of protection against such procedure. Most financiers with large outstanding credits are careful to keep no very valuable pieces of currency where they can be confiscated. With mokos of lower value one makes every effort to lend them out at credit as soon as possible after receiving them. With mokos of high value, which circulate less freely, it is customary to bury them secretly in some well-concealed spot. Only a man's brother or his sons may be partners to the hiding place.

826 371 627 825 Pigs cannot be disposed of so easily. Instead there is a system of partnership in pig raising that assures the owner of an ally in case of seizure. Furthermore, it is a way of concealing the extent of animal wealth. The system is to furnish a partner, often in another village, with a piglet to raise. This partner acquires half interest in the animal by giving the owner a stipulated number of payments and by feeding it. If anyone

825 371 attempts to seize the pig for a debt incurred by either of the co-owners, the partner is of necessity an ally against this forceful procedure. It is a